

We Must Fight War to the Finish or Perish!

Developments since the World War of methods of destroying human life, wholesale, and the ominous rise of imperialism and fascism, MAKE THE PREVENTION OF WAR THE MAJOR ISSUE OF THE HOUR.

We have to prevent war, because almost any national war now is DANGEROUSLY LIABLE TO BECOME A WORLD WAR, and another world war is DANGEROUSLY LIKELY TO WIPE OUT CIVILIZATION.

The world war was bad enough, but since it has occurred, the following monstrous developments threaten civilization:

Chemical Warfare

The use of deadly gases and liquids and DISEASE GERMS to spread destruction has been developed to a point, in the war laboratories of ten or twelve of the leading powers, beyond the imagination of the pioneers of this branch of mass-murder who introduced it into the World War. General Pershing says that in case of another war THE POPULATION OF ALL OUR INDUSTRIAL CENTERS WILL BE JEOPARDIZED BY THESE DEADLY AGENTS.

The use of a phosgene, poisoning, burning, and disease-spreading gas of death has been facilitated tremendously by the rapid evolution of airplanes. IN THE NEXT WAR DEATH WILL LITERALLY RAIN FROM THE HEAVENS!

War Planes

Military authorities generally agree that the next great war will be largely fought in and from the air. Nations are governing themselves accordingly. While the war lords are hypocritically prating about naval and army disarmament, THE MOST SINISTER RACE OF DEATH IN THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD IS GOING ON IN THE BUILDING OF DREAD AIR FLEETS OF WAR.

The most dreadful flying machines of destruction have been evolved since the world war. As horrible as was the air phase of war during that catastrophe, the war birds of that day were mere amateurs in comparison. The air torpedo which hints at possible controlled flight of enough explosives to blow up a city; radio controlled war planes of dreadful possibilities; bombing planes of sufficient power to carry tons of the highest explosives; planes equipped with tubes for spreading deadly liquids and gases—these are a few of the frightful developments since the world war.

Army Mechanization

The war-makers and militarists now see the enormous possibilities of transforming armies largely into heavily armored mechanical monsters packed with men and the most destructive materials, and virtually invincible against armies equipped as they were during the World War. The tank has undergone most amazing developments. It is believed that the next war so far as it is fought on terra firma, will be largely a struggle between mechanical giants loaded with high explosives and human beings. Such a struggle would be tremendously destructive to all elements not highly equipped in this way and civilian populations would be utterly helpless in the midst of such a struggle. Courage, faith, devotion, initiative, intelligence, qualities that once won wars, would sink to secondary place in this battle of monsters. THEY WOULD ENGENDER A RACE TOWARD MECHANICAL SUPREMACY CALCULATED TO DEVOUR THE VISIBLE RESOURCES OF CIVILIZATION AND SPREAD HOPELESS RUIN AND DESOLATION.

The Rising War Spirit

Coupled with this rapid mechanization of war has developed an eager, spreading spirit among the ruling classes to test out and use these new powers of destruction.

Added to this is another war-making element—the hatred, resentment and international chaos produced by the last world war.

And another—increasing dependence of the leading nations on imperialism for the outlet for their increasing surplus of goods.

—And another—fear of revolution by the present rotting capitalist society and the consequent arming of the reaction to crush liberty and suppress the workers.

And another—the rise of Fascism which is the militarization of decayed capitalism to save itself. Fascism represents reversion to militarized control of society, and to the armed and warlike nationalism of the middle ages. But this warlike nationalism is far more dangerous in the vast destructive forces of the modern world than it has ever been in the past. At the slightest pretext military classes overthrow democracies in a night and set up warlike dictatorships, each of which is a most serious international danger.

War Spots

There are troop concentrations, actual or planned, in Nicaragua by the United States; on the Mexican border by the United States; in Shanghai by the five leading powers; on the Italian and French boundary line by both powers; on the boundary line of Italy and Jugoslavia by both powers; on the Roumanian-Russian border by both powers; on the Polish-Lithuanian border by both powers; on the Polish-Russian border by both powers.

Any of these concentrations are about the equivalent of a powder magazine of fire.

Despite the flaunted progress of civilization the world was never more unsettled, life on this planet was never more insecure; culture and progress were never more at the mercy of the forces of barbarism and chaos, than at the present time.

A Passing System

What we see all around us are the symptoms of a decaying and passing industrial system. THE GREAT BANG OF THE HOUR IS THAT THE FORCES OF DESTRUCTION WILL OVERTAKE US BEFORE THE CONSTRUCTIVE FORCES OF THE WORLD WILL HAVE A CHANCE TO OPERATE AND GIVE US A BETTER SYSTEM.

AT ALL COSTS, THE PEACE FORCES OF THE WORLD MUST PREVENT THIS ATROPHICALLY AVERNED THREATENED UNIVERSAL WAR—UNTIL THE CONSTRUCTIVE FORCES HAVE AN OPPORTUNITY TO OPERATE.

War exists because the whole present industrial system is founded on a war process—the competitive struggle one with another for existence.

There is war because the present system divides society into two antagonistic classes—the producers and the parasites—and necessitates by this arrangement the maintenance of armed force, and suppression. There is war because the parasite must maintain nationalism to excuse and cloak his perpetration of armed force. There is war because labor is robbed and there is a stolen surplus to set all the hands of the world at each other's throats. There is war because the parasites of each nation must conquer and hold an outside market for the surplus stolen from labor.

Real Peace Program

NOTHING SHORT OF A COMPLETE CHANGE FROM THIS SYSTEM: NOTHING SHORT OF THE NEW SYSTEM BASED UPON COOPERATION AND LABORS FULL OWNERSHIP AND ENJOYMENT OF ITS PRODUCT—NOTHING SHORT OF SOCIALISM WILL FINALLY END WAR FOREVER.

Socialism alone will substitute universal cooperation for universal competition, abolish stolen surplus, and give us the WORLD-STATE, the FEDERATION OF MAN, instead of warring nations.

But we must fight war HERE AND NOW or it may WIPE OUT THE WHOLE PROCESS LEADING TO SOCIALISM INDEFINITELY.

We have to fight it by every means within reach IN OUR DEFENSE OF ALL THE CIVILIZATION THERE IS ON THE WORLD TODAY AND ALL WE HOPE FOR TOMORROW.

We cannot hope to end war as a process, we can remove its eternal menace as long as the present system exists.

BUT AS INTEGRAL PARTS OF THE GREAT WORLD-WIDE ARMY OF PEACE WE MAY AVERT, OR PUT OFF ANY PARTICULAR WAR.

On this basis and with the understanding that the availing of war is the major issue of the hour, the American Appeal is going to throw itself unreservedly into this struggle.

Must Have Powerful Paper

We need all the circulation that every active reader of the Appeal can give us by his or her constant efforts. We must have the power to carry on this imperatively necessary work with increasing vigor. We are asking our readers to enter with us in this most necessary fight and help us get that circulation and that power.

In such a struggle nothing else can take the place of a national organ of Socialism as the standard bearer of world peace in this country.

A national publication without knowledge of the cause of war, without understanding of the true remedy, would lack effective purpose and real vision. A movement that would fall into a trap, it would succeed only in temporarily averting the inevitable.

THE PEACE MOVEMENT OF AMERICA NEEDS THE AMERICAN APPEAL TO AVERT WAR WHILE IT ORIGINATES THE FORCES THAT BROUGHT THE SYSTEM THAT CAUSES WAR. WE MUST HAVE THE APPEAL TO CLARIFY THE PEACE MOVEMENT.

Absolute loyalty to the pacifist program of averting wars AND THE SOCIALIST PROGRAM OF ABOLISHING WAR is one of the big things that is going to lead the people to Socialism. Sooner or later capitalism and imperialism are going to make this world so insecure, so dangerous to ourselves and our children, THAT THE PEOPLE WILL ACCEPT NOTHING LESS THAN A COMPLETE ABOLITION OF CAPITALISM AND IMPERIALISM.

This is what will happen IF WE CAN AVERT THE DIRE CATASTROPHE OF WORLD WAR LONG ENOUGH.

Will You Help?

Readers of the American Appeal, do you want a national organ of this kind? HAD ENOUGH OF A LITTLE WORK FOR IT?

It is worth while for each of you to make a slight effort each month in getting or paying for a sub?

IF HALF OF OUR 20,000 READERS WOULD SEND US NO MORE THAN ONE SUCH MONTHLY THE APPEAL WOULD BECOME AN EFFECTIVE TOWER OF NATIONAL INFLUENCE THIS YEAR. IT WOULD BECOME POWERFUL IN VOICING SENTIMENT AGAINST WAR. THE WHOLE MOVEMENT WOULD BECOME A POWERFUL AND INSPIRING FORCE.

It is worth while for you to make this slight effort for such grand results? If so get busy, do something, DO IT NOW. Clip out the subscription blank on page 2 and send in your sub or sub. If you do not like to ask persons to subscribe, send in a name and address and pay for it yourself.

Bituminous Miners Prepare to Battle Against Low Wages

Editor's Note

This is the first of a number of articles on coal to be published in the Appeal during the next few months. We are grateful to Brother Kennedy for this clear statement of the official position of the union, which undoubtedly did much in its toward staying the onward rush of the Open Shop movement.

The American people cannot afford to permit a further reduction in living standards in this vital industry.

By Thomas Kennedy
(Secretary, United Mine Workers of America)

The agreement made in Jacksonville in 1924 for a period of three years carried as its basic provisions the rates of wages then in effect in the Central Competitive Fields. This basic wage scale had been previously fixed by the United States Coal Commission in 1920 with the miners' representative dissenting on account of the inadequacy of the wages provided for in the agreement. In reality, therefore, the basic wages of the Central Competitive Fields were originally fixed by the representative of the operators and the public on the United States Coal Commission. It should also be borne in mind that the increase in wages given to the mine workers during the war were considerably less than the wage increases given to other trades and callings.

Warfare Against Union

Immediately following the signing of the Jacksonville Agreement, certain companies which subscribed to the agreement, notably the Pittsburgh Coal Company and the Consolidation Coal Company in Northern West Virginia, repudiated its provisions. It was likewise true of the Pittsburgh, Buffalo, and Rochester Coal Company in Central Pennsylvania. For the past three years these coal companies and others have been engaged in a warfare against the United Mine Workers of America. Every ill of the industry, the failure of the crops in

Shanghai Won By Victorious Army of the Revolution

SHANGHAI, China.—The victorious Cantonese army entered Shanghai after winning a almost bloodless victory over the northern militarists, by virtue of a flanking movement in which it passed to the east around the northern army. The Northern forces' ending Shanghai have been isolated and cut off.

The entrance of the Cantonese main army was preceded by the plain clothes army, whose duty is to fight behind the lines with literature and speeches while their comrades are winning military victories. Vast throngs of Shanghai people turned out cheering and waving flags and banners. The large labor organizations which have been fighting for the Cantonese behind the enemy lines and suffering the loss of scores of their bravest leaders for their daring, proclaimed a general strike for the purpose of demonstrating their solidarity with the revolution and celebrating the great victory.

Shanghai is the largest city in China and eighth largest city in the world. It has a population estimated at 1,500,000. It is China's greatest seaport. Shipped at seaports are collected at Shanghai. Its capture by the Kuomintang will cut off the principal means of support of the government of the north and perhaps bankrupt and rapidly eliminate the northern government at Peking in the present civil war. Its capture by the Kuomintang so greatly strengthens that movement as to insure its early conquest of all China, barring imperialist intervention. Shanghai is one of the most radical and strongest labor centers in China. Its capture will release thousands of Socialists to the revolution.

America Spurns League Plan to End Gas Wars

GENEVA.—Two important phases of the league of nations' disarmament program recommended by the preparatory joint naval, air and military commissions will meet determined opposition from the United States.

The United States unqualifiedly rejects plans suggested for carrying out of the gas program. It disposes of the proposal to create an international chemical industry bloc, and so avoid nationalization of the industry, with the declaration that such action would be unconstitutional. It turns down the proposal that the nations condemn as a crime any exercising or training by military or civilians in the use of poison gas or bacteria on the grounds that it would be impracticable and that no nation could safely refrain from preparing for defense against chemical warfare attack, regardless of international conventions prohibiting such warfare.

The American message also stresses the United States' objection to any international supervision of armaments, after an armament limitation agreement has been reached.

From The Pen of Debs

(Compiled by Theodore Debs)

(Here is a challenge from Debs that applies to thousands of inactive Socialist readers of the Appeal. Take this to heart while the Emergency Circulation Drive is on and justify the fact that you are a Socialist.)

Where Do You Stand?

Socialism is the revolutionary shibboleth of the workers and producers all around the world. We are fighting for freedom.

Where do you stand?

All the forces of capitalism are arrayed against us and in favor of the children of men. In the slightest, but we are going to win out in spite of them all as certain as the earth revolves upon its axis.

Socialism means democracy, freedom, sunlight, opportunity for all, and if you are not in favor of this you are far more beast than human although you may be dressed in the latest fashion.

But to overthrow capitalism and establish the rule of the people means struggle and such a struggle as the children of men have never known. This struggle appeals to every man and woman who have in their veins the warm blood of humanity. There are those, and they are many, who attempt to dodge the fight but the call to battle rings in their ears even in the silent hours of midnight.

The great fight of humanity to break its fetters and stand erect in the light of day is inevitable. We Socialists have not waited to be drafted. Long ago we plunged into the struggle and not a regret have we ever had that we burnt the bridges behind us.

The struggle has appealed to all the forces of the world, and it has banished from our hearts all fear. It has inspired us with faith and hope and courage. Every passing day we are the better and the stronger for daring to take the place where we belong and not all the glittering prizes capitalism has to bestow could tempt us to desert our posts.

Where do you stand?

Are you still hesitating, doubting, knowing in your heart that Socialism is right and that you should avow yourself as becomes a man, and yet trying to make apologies to yourself for your weak indecision and moral cowardice?

If you do not know what Socialism is and what it stands for, it is high time that you should know that you may no longer stand in your own light, forge your own fetters, and block your own way to freedom.

If only they of weak moral fibre knew what joy there is in fighting for Socialism they would plunge into the struggle without another moment of hesitation. For the little they might lose they would find themselves and what glorious revelation it is to a man to realize for the first time that he is a MAN!

And now again, where do you stand? or do you stand at all? for yourself, for anything, or for anybody?

Do you still blindly, stupidly follow the political bull-waddlers of capitalism? Have you not had enough and is it not about time you were waking up and doing some real thinking for yourself?

Sweden and Norway Take Anti-War Vow

STOCKHOLM.—Final ratifications of the arbitration treaty between Sweden and Norway, making war between the two countries illegal under all circumstances, have been exchanged.

Super Power Trust Already Formed, Says Federal Body

Treacherous Plan Revealed in Armed Grab of Nicaragua

WASHINGTON, D. C.—So far there are 3,500 marines in Nicaragua, but the armed clash expected by many as the result of military intervention by the United States has not yet materialized. Nevertheless, Nicaragua is gradually being occupied by the Liberal forces representing the choice of the Nicaraguan people seems inevitable as a result of the stealthy methods adopted by the administration.

The administration announces it will not acquiesce in the establishment of an American protectorate over Nicaragua for 100 years. That would involve action by the Senate and the President realizes it would be extremely difficult to secure the approval of that body.

Therefore, instead of formally establishing a protectorate, the administration is doing the thing informally.

Nicaragua is being flooded with marines. Whenever the Diaz forces are in danger of losing a battle, the Americans declare that particular section a "neutral zone" and forbid all fighting. They have "neutralized" the Nicaraguan railroad, but are permitting its free use by the Diaz forces.

Nevertheless, the Liberals, under Somoza, seem to be so strong that Diaz can make no headway against them.

Dennis Jans Officialdom

The most sensational development in Nicaragua has to do with the public declarations of Lawrence Dennis, who was American charge d'affaires in Nicaragua when Diaz was forced out.

(Continued on page 3)

Ominous Change in Press on Mexico

Slowly but effectively the muzzle has been applied to Republican and Democratic daily newspapers throughout the country during the past two months, on the Mexican question. Clippings received by the committee that is agitating for peaceful arbitration of the dispute over Mexico's oil and land laws, show that a large number have quit protesting against the Coolidge-Kellogg-Mellon policy of intimidation. Many other papers, formerly silent, have come out in defense of the conquest of Nicaragua and the threats used against Mexico.

This change of tone in the press can be best explained, in the light of past experience, on the theory that banks and big advertisers have suggested that the anti-imperialist editorials were "hurting business."

Gen. Wood Departs Man for Criticism of Imperialists

Manila, Philippine Islands.—Rudolph Hilckmann of the Philippine Islands, detained here yesterday as a Bolshevik agent when he arrived from San Francisco on the S. S. President Cleveland, was deported to Hongkong today on the same vessel.

Before leaving for Hongkong, Hilckmann made the following statement to an American newspaper correspondent:

"My visit to the Philippines has been short but highly instructive. I saw your beautiful city only from the secret service chief's car. I was questioned about a great many things—about what I had been doing at such and such an hour three years back and exactly how I made a living—and I think they inquired about my grandmother's hay fever."

"I am a priest on vacation. My latest parish was at Deer Park, Wis. Besides being a priest, I am a writer. But it seems the United States authorities do not allow freedom to any independent thought when the sacred ideals of the constitution are concerned. One of these ideals is the beautifully called freedom of speech. Sacred cows must neither be dishonored or milked. In this case it is dangerous to deny freedom of speech under the American rule. But it is still more dangerous to try to make use of it."

It seems I am charged with conspiracy because of my writings. But those writings were far less critical of the American ideals and institutions than those by H. L. Mencken. I should have had a good place in the Philippines. I am now being deported to Hongkong, where I don't know a soul, and with practically no money."

Move Against Air Warfare Defeated

LONDON.—The Socialists' idealistic move to wipe out the British air force met an overwhelming defeat in the house of commons. Their motion was lost by 197 votes to 24.

Arthur Ponsonby, former minister in the labor government, sponsored the motion. He argued that it was a reasonable proposal because armaments provided a nation with no security whatever.

A similar motion before the house last year received nineteen votes.

Labor Party Offers Disarmament Plan

LONDON.—"No more battleships to be built by any nation; no more cruisers to be built exceeding 5,000 tons."

These are the British Labor party's proposals, suggested to the government tonight, for submission as a government policy in the forthcoming Coolidge naval disarmament conference.

Such a proposal, declared labor's spokesman, would meet a tremendous reception from public opinion in the United States.

Appeal to Have May Day Number

The American Appeal will have a special May Day number which will appear Saturday, April 30.

It will be full of red hot propaganda, from the pen of leading Socialist writers—excellent material for distribution on International Labor Day.

We request active Socialist organizations and individuals to send in their orders for bundles early and help make this issue a big success.

Comrades of the Appeal Army, It Is Up to You!

As this is written, the issue of the American Appeal announcing the Emergency Circulation Drive has just reached the hands of the 24,000 readers of the American Appeal.

We are confident there will be a generous response to this program ending April 19 during which time EVERY READER OF THE AMERICAN APPEAL IS EXPECTED TO GET OR PAY FOR ONE OR MORE SUBS.

The drive is going to be a great success IF EVERY MEMBER OF THE APPEAL ARMY—and by that we mean every reader who in the past has helped the Appeal attain its present circulation—WILL DO HIS OR HER BIT.

We are asking members of the Appeal Army to do their bit right away—this week if possible—because the effect of such an example will sweep thousands into the drive before it ends.

HOW MANY MEMBERS OF THE APPEAL ARMY WILL CONSTITUTE THEMSELVES THE SHOCK TROOPS IN THIS DRIVE AND DO THEIR SHARE THIS WEEK? AN EARLY EXAMPLE BY THE ARMY WILL INSURE THE IMMENSE SUCCESS OF THE DRIVE.

The present drive is the first step in a determined program planned by the Staff to give the Appeal real national circulation and power.

The success of this drive depends absolutely on how many readers think enough of the Appeal and the Movement to sense sufficiently the dire need of giving the Appeal effective circulation in the present crisis.

The result will be a real test of the loyalty of the readers to the Appeal and the Movement. IT WILL TELL US WHETHER OR NOT WE HAVE A DEPENDABLE FORCE WITH WHICH WE CAN GO ON TO GREATER THINGS. IT WILL DETERMINE WHETHER OR NOT WE CAN CARRY OUT OUR PROGRAM FOR A BIGGER AND BETTER PAPER AND MOVEMENT.

The decision is entirely in the hands of the readers. WE WILL START TO COUNT THE FATEFUL VOTE NEXT WEEK WHICH WILL TELL US WHETHER WE CAN GO AHEAD OR WHETHER WE MUST GO BACKWARD OR FAIL OR SURRENDER IN THIS CRISIS.

Young People's Department

National Office
YOUNG PEOPLE'S SOC. LEAGUE
25 Townsend St., Newburg, Mass.
T. J. Parker, Nat. Director.

WITH THE CIRCLES

Boston, Mass.—Members of what might better be called the former Boston circle have been meeting recently as a group organized as the Speakers Bureau, under the direction of Comrade Lewis. The few old Yipsels who have shown a new interest in the work are expected to bring the circle back to life again, and with this aim in view they are extending a general invitation to all young people in the greater Boston district to take part in the work. Further particulars may be had by calling or writing the Socialist Party State Office, 21 Essex St., Boston, Mass.

Quincy, Mass.—A meeting has been arranged to reorganize the Quincy circle. Sunday evening, March 27, the speakers on this occasion will be Comrades Lewis and Syjala of Boston. The party local is greatly interested in the work of the youth group and is making a special effort to aid the Yipsels. The voluntary assessment stamp is being pushed hard.

National Office—Circle secretaries are expected to file their reports for the month of March. It would be much better to think of the monthly report card just at the end of the month so that the record may be correct, and that no delays will be suffered.

The Scoffer

By Louis Rabinowitz

(Member Boston Y. P. S. L.)
All through the history of the Socialist movement one has traced the path of that pitiful germ, "Scoffism." It has always cropped up here and there, and its sole victims have always been amongst the youth of the land.

Its presence can always be detected by the conversational "bursts" of those who have fallen prey to "Scoffism." Why, I know all about that. It's all the bunk! It's all the hill. My great grandfather heard about it in his day. How are you going to ride up all the money in the world? Don't try to tell me anything about it—I know it all. I read the newspapers; read about what Teddy Roosevelt said about you anarchists. You certainly are poor chaps going around preaching that same old game. And so on, ad infinitum.

Fortunately, the ravages of the disease have always been very slight. For the strength of an infection depends chiefly upon the strength of its source. And "Scoffism" is certainly empty of root and stem.

We have, today, within our midst another recurrence of that "scoffish" fever. Young Scoffers have sprung up like weeds. Ignorant scepticism marks their growth, and hollow meanderings crown their indifference. But exactly as with a toy rubber balloon, their two rapid rises soon overcome their resistance, and a consequent bitter lesson has been given a bitter lesson.

The learning of such a lesson is quite good in its way, but it causes pain, and suffering, and those young people naturally look about for something upon which to retaliate. And what more convenient a receptor can they find than that offered by the "Scoffism" of their previous "Scoffism." Thus Scoffism becomes the absolute embodiment of the entire source from whence their suffering was born. They vent all the spleen they may have inherited upon the Socialist movement, and its leaders, teachers and organizers. From positions of indifference "Scoffism" they spring into action as violent reactionaries. Not because they understand or ever understood the Socialist movement, but rather because they misunderstood it, and are now suffering from the consequences of that early misunderstanding.

The Scoffer is to be pitied, and those causes of his environment which tend to bring about his condition, are to be hated and fought. The attitude of "Scoffism" in regard to the work of the Socialist movement is one of the most powerful tools exercised by the capitalist class today amongst the youth of the Country. The disease will soon disappear, reaction will set in, and a few more youths will be mentally disfigured for life. Every intelligent young man and woman should be aware of this irritating malady with its often fatal results, and should inoculate themselves with the only serum that is really effective in preventing this infection. That of understanding the Socialist movement, by a thorough study of Socialism in theory and in practice.

Let's All Help

By Savelle Syrjala

"Oh, if we only had our own magazine, how much more we could accomplish," is a remark frequently heard among Yipsels. Yes, we could do much more with a magazine devoted to the interests of the Y. P. S. L. It would be a great asset in stimulating and inspiring us in our work.

However, there are many good reasons why this is impossible now. But we are not without means of publicity. We have our weekly column in the Appeal. Has it not occurred to us that we could make better use of the column entirely by building up a strong organization and developing our own writers who will be able to make our magazine worth while.

Jessie Stephen Meetings Draw Splendid Crowds Everywhere

By Jessie Stephen

Before coming West there were comrades aplenty to predict dire disaster. Meetings would not be good. Americans were not greatly interested in Socialist propaganda. They were too prosperous and comfortable. This is a point I beg leave to discuss at greater length later on. Sufficient that I chronicle it for the moment. Enthusiasm? Why expect the impossible? So these gloomy prophets spoke. Fortunately, I am an optimist. Some of my comrades at home describe me as a fatuous optimist, although the first syllable of the adjective would hardly describe me since I am somewhat Cacus-like in my proportions, and for that very reason, somewhat different in appearance from the usual pictures painted of optimists.

Comrade Martin Heider, energetic, faithful and courteous secretary of Buffalo local showed that one live wire can accomplish wonders. He expected the Elmwood Music Hall to be packed to the doors, but there was more than American Socialism in the hall. It had turned out. This proved quite an encouragement and inspiration to me. I did not get many new subscriptions here for the simple reason that Comrade Heider himself had been on the job with some success. The talk of the meeting was I understand a success and probably reached thousands of people who would not otherwise have heard at first hand what the British Labor Party is doing.

Cleveland was inciting. I was warned not to expect too much but the hall was absolutely full and the audience extremely appreciative, a big help to a speaker.

From this crowd we got eight new members for the party who joined up right away and promises from others, in addition to 20 new subscribers for the Appeal. This is a very good thing which has suffered badly from the Communist split is good telling.

Toledo provided the one disappointment of the trip and this is no fault of Comrade Millard Price who with his charming wife had carried the burden, at short notice, of making a meeting. Something in the atmosphere of the meeting place, gloomy and badly lit, seemed to affect both myself and the audience. Why do we Socialists always go for the gloomiest meeting places to preach a doctrine of life and hope for the masses? All the time I felt like a gramophone playing a record rather badly and the kick I usually get out of a meeting was absent for once in a way. If other comrades had jumped in to do their bit there is no reason to doubt that the meeting could have been as successful as the others, but it is too much to expect any one comrade to carry the whole responsibility upon his shoulders.

My meeting at Detroit provided me with some thrills, especially when our old friends the Communists stepped right up with their ancient grudge about the treachery of the British Trade Union leaders during the General Strike of 1926. The knowledge of the actual facts was painfully inadequate and obvious to the meagre intelligence was its paucity. This was quite a good meeting although the huge schoolroom was not full. Just after I got started speaking an alarming disturbance off stage gave rise to all sorts of unpleasant imaginings in my mind, but it turned out to be only a raiding party of school boys looking for their musical instruments which they had left behind in their ignorance that a Socialist meeting was to be held there. Probably they did not trust us too much. These alarms and excursions cut short my oratory for a few minutes and provided some comic relief for the audience.

From there a rather long journey to Chicago where I was extended the privilege of speaking on the Chicago Federation of Labor's broadcast station for fifteen minutes. An audience of Comrades Henry and his

wife, and George Fitzpatrick sat to pass judgment and according to them it went over not "arf bad." The meeting afterwards was an inspiration in every sense of the word. The atmosphere reminded me at times of a Welsh religious revival in my own country. New members joined up and Comrade Snow tapped the meeting to some tune for subscriptions to the "Appeal." Comrade Fitzpatrick, whose hospitality I enjoyed tried to scare me by informing that he was to be cook for Sunday morning's breakfast. However, despite his culinary achievements I am still very much alive and kicking. Thus do I even up my score with an interesting and enthusiastic Socialist.

Having read more than a little about Milwaukee in the British Socialist press I looked forward to my visit there and was not disappointed. Mayor Hoan was the toastmaster at a delightful dinner on the Sunday evening after a good meeting in the afternoon. Comrade Victor Berger, who forcibly reminded me of our old friend George Lansbury was also there and made a pleasant little speech. The following day afternoon tea on the English plan was specially provided by Mrs. Berger at her home just to make me feel I was not being neglected although there was never any possibility of that during my stay.

The women's committee of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers took care of me the third day. Incidentally this trade union meeting proved to be one of the most successful of the tour, and just so I wouldn't forget them, these good comrades made me a little present. Mrs. Barkin whose hospitality I enjoyed during my stay certainly made my sojourn in Milwaukee a thing to be remembered for many a long day.

Next week I want to continue this record and add observations relevant to the situation as I see it in the movement here.

Socialist Party News

Party Activity

Every Local and Branch of the Socialist Party should make it a point to visit members who are not active and are back in their dues, and get them to pay up. At each Local or Branch meeting announcement should be made urging all members to be readers of the American Appeal, to keep their subscriptions paid up and get new readers. It is high time that every Socialist be active in every way and help prepare the organization and extend the circulation of the American Appeal and other Socialist papers to the utmost.

The Stephen Tour

The tour just finished by Comrade Jessie Stephen, of England, was very successful from every viewpoint. The locals are highly satisfied with the work, and Comrade Stephen is now ready to leave for England much pleased with the reception the comrades gave her everywhere.

Indiana

Terre Haute

The readers of the American Appeal in Terre Haute and throughout Vigo County should get in touch with Phil K. Reinbold, 425 Ohio St., Secretary of the newly organized Socialist Local, and help build a powerful organization in the home city of Debs. Comrades can get in touch with Reinbold by calling his place of business or communicating by letter.

The State Secretary reports continued awakening of comrades throughout Indiana, and feels confident that every Socialist reader of the American Appeal will soon be a member of the Socialist Party. Our readers should correspond with the State Secretary, whose name and address is Effie M. Mueller, 229 S. Key-stone Ave., Indianapolis.

It may be of interest to our readers in Indiana to know that the American Appeal has a large circulation in that state and those professing to be Socialists should certainly be members of the Socialist Party, pay their dues and gather subscriptions for the American Appeal.

Pennsylvania

Philadelphia

August Claessens, former Socialist member of the New York State Legislature and present Executive Secretary of Local New York Socialist Party, will speak at a Comradeship Supper arranged by the North and West Philadelphia Branches of the Socialist Party for Sunday, March 27th, 7 P. M., at the Stephen Girard Hotel, 2027 Chestnut Street. Plates are only \$1.00 each.

Claessens is one of the most effective speakers in the Socialist movement and a propagandist of wide experience. The Stephen Girard Hotel is one of the most pleasant dining places in the city, and this will be an evening of good cheer, fellowship and inspiration. The veterans

of the movement will renew old acquaintances and meet the new recruits. If the good time enjoyed by the large crowd which attended a similar affair last month addressed by James H. Maurer is any criterion, the capacity of the dining hall should be added to the limit to accommodate those who desire to hear Claessens.

Chicago

On Monday, March 28th, at 8 P. M. there will be a meeting of the comrades of the old 6th, 7th and 8th Ward Branches at the home of Comrade Otto Siebenbrodt, at 728 Maryland Avenue. These meetings have been a regular feature for the past seven or eight months and are becoming better attended, and more successful all the time. At the last meeting there were about sixteen comrades present, and no doubt will be more at the next gathering. Socialists living in these districts will please take notice and participate in these activities.

On Saturday, April 2nd, at 8 P. M. the German comrades will meet to celebrate the anniversary of the Paris Commune, at Miners' Hall, 1636 North Halsted Street. The celebration will take the form of a Ball in the evening, and there will also be speaking in both English and German. This is an annual affair, and we urge all German comrades, and others, to help make it a success. Readers of the American Appeal be present.

Chicago—The Lawndale Yipsels have larger quarters and are now able to accommodate all of their friends at their interesting meetings. An unusually interesting speaker on March twenty-fifth will be Mr. V. Frank Coe who will speak on the Sliding Wage Scale System. Mr. Coe's special field is economics and we are sure that he has much to tell us. Mr. Daniel Uretz, for many years prominent in labor and Socialist circles will speak on April second. The subject will be announced later.

On April ninth, the group will hold its monthly business meeting to discuss definite plans for a dinner to celebrate the birthday of the organization. The members feel that they want to get together for a real good time on April thirtieth, one year after the club was organized. Visitors are at all times welcome.

Kansas

To Comrades and Friends in Kansas: Once more the old timers who thought the Socialists could do more by aiding the movement in the stronger centers of Socialism are now renewing their allegiance to the Kansas movement and are in the increased Kansas vote in the 1926 election reasons for a renewal of faith and effort preparatory to the next presidential campaign in 1928. Without organization in 1926, our highest vote was over 34,000. With a func-

tioning organization, we should make vast increase next time. Even those who thought the Socialist Party could never come back are now admitting that everything looks favorable and are once more becoming active.

One of the strongest arguments for your getting back into the Party is its fine active, anti-war propaganda which is showing up the Imperialist policy in Mexico and Nicaragua, and which will probably call for some cabinet changes as a result. We need a strong organization to create a background of anti-war and anti-imperialist sentiment.

While we made an excellent showing last election at the polls, the great difficulty lay in getting out the ticket, getting petitions and acceptances for office from those qualified by the constitution to serve. With an organization working in the ticket, there should be no trouble next year. Join the Party now. If you are busy in your dues, can you not now pay up, so that there will be available funds to carry on the work. Get busy and circulate some leaflets. Get something to the American Appeal, do something to bring up the State of Kansas to its old time pre-war activity in the Socialist movement.

Yours for Socialism,
—Arthur Bridwell,
State Secretary.

New England District

The Massachusetts State Convention will be held Sunday, April 23rd, at 21 Essex Street, Boston, at 10:30 A. M. All branches are urged to elect delegates at once, and to send in anything they think it is important to have considered to the District Secretary.

Dates are available for Comrade Lewis' tour for the first three weeks in April. Any Branch or Workmen's Circle which wants a date should write at once to our headquarters, 21 Essex St., Boston.

Boston
At the Boston Central Branch Weekly Forum, on Thursday March 23rd, Joseph Bearak will speak on a subject to be announced later.

The Speakers Training Class is holding its meetings regularly every Sunday at 21 Essex St. "Immigration and the Labor Movement," "Guild Socialism," "The Immoralities of Capitalism," and "American Psychology" are subjects scheduled for the coming weeks.

Comrade Julius Hochman is to speak on "The Left Wing in the Uniona," at Ford Hall Forum on March 27th.

Yipsels
The Yipsel District Convention will be held April 2nd and 3rd at Maynard. Socialist sympathizers of Yipsel age, 16 to 25, who want to take part in the Yipsel Essay Contest are urged to join the Yipsels at once. \$50.00 worth of prizes for the five best essays are being offered.

Fund Report

Again the Jewish Forward Association has come forward with a magnificent gift to the American Appeal to cover a deficit. While the American Appeal is unable to express adequately the gratitude it feels for this generous and timely assistance, we sincerely hope each member of the Appeal Army will take it upon himself and herself to correct the present inactivity of the Army and wipe out this DANGEROUS DEFICIT.

Here is the report for the week ending March 19, 1927.

Contributions
Forward Association \$500.00
C. E. Perry, Loganport, Ind. 1.00
T. W. Thomas, Indianapolis, Ind. 1.00
S. B. Smith, Newark, Ohio 1.00
Olof Wellerberg, Chicago, Ill. 1.00
A. Lindstrom, Jereau, Alaska .50
A. T. Klingbeil, Richmond, Ind. 1.00
Jos. Korlik, Chicago, Ill. 2.00
\$507.50

On Pledges
H. O. Fuhrberg, Seattle, Wash. 1.00
Total on Funds \$507.50
Previously reported \$1,469.94
Total Gifts since Jan. 1, 1926 \$2,000.44

Army Record

Only the generous gift of the Jewish Forward Association of \$500 saved the Appeal Army from making the poorest record it has made for six months. But we are confident that next week will show a decided gain as it will show the record of the first week under the Emergency Circulation Drive. We are sure where so much depends on the activity of every member of the Army, that the Army will not fail the Appeal.

The record for the week ending March 19 is as follows:
Carls \$36.00
Bundles 2.10
Subscriptions 137.00
Promotion and Sustaining Fund \$68.50
Total \$683.60

Prize Winners

With the time for the withdrawal of the Debs photo as a prize offered only a few weeks away (April 19), we urge every reader of the Appeal who wants this beautiful memento as a mark of service for the Cause to send in the requisite \$5 order before that date and get it. Five dollar orders or better for subs, sub cards, bundles or as gifts, get the photo.

Our part reflects in the work of the national office. If we had given the Appeal column some of our time by contributing to it, we could have made it serve our League a hundred fold more. Our immediate problem should be to utilize this valuable medium of publicity and expression to its fullest extent. We should make it a mirror of our activities, and in that we cannot leave the task to one man, but must all help by sending articles, news and circle information.

The Socialist movement must train its own writers, and here is an opportunity for young socialists to get valuable experience in writing, and in so doing build up a more varied and interesting column. If we are successful in this task it will have a beneficial effect on all activities and create a greater interest in the League's work. We will then have formed a better basis for the realization of our own magazine by building up a strong organization and developing our own writers who will be able to make our magazine worth while.

Appeal Army Activities

Debs Picture Prize

While Drive Lasts

Debs photo, the last one he had taken, will be withdrawn as a prize at the end of the Emergency Circulation Drive, April 19, 1927.

You cannot get this picture after that date as a mark of honor for service to the Cause. This prize will be the big feature of the Emergency Drive. ALL WHO SEND IN \$5 ORDERS OR BETTER FOR SUBS OR TO HELP THE CIRCULATION WILL RECEIVE THIS PHOTO.

EVERY READER OF THE APPEAL STILL HAS A CHANCE TO GET THIS PICTURE IN THIS WAY.

The record for the week ending March 19, is as follows:
E. L. Robinson, Weston, Mass. (\$3.00 sub.)
Frank Eckholm, Norwood, Mass. (\$6.00 sub.)
Theodore Kleuskens, West De Pere, Wis. (\$5.00 sub and donation)
S. B. Smith, Newark, Ohio, (\$5.00 sub and donation)
A. T. Klingbeil, Richmond, Ind. (\$5.00 sub and donation)
Josef Horkik, Chicago, Ill. (\$6.00 sub and donation).

What's So And What Isn't
John M. Work's celebrated book, revised, enlarged and brought up to date by the author. Our best up-to-date propaganda book.

In its original form, 178,500 copies of this book were sold. The present volume will be clothbound. For the purpose of expounding Socialism in a simple and convincing manner, especially to those whose education has been somewhat limited, there is probably no better book than "What's So and What Isn't." Every possible question about Socialism and its program is considered and answered. The book is the result of a lifetime of experience on the part of the author as a successful Socialist propagandist. Thousands of conversions to Socialism are credited to this volume.

Get them from National Hdqrs., 2653 Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill. 50c for single copies, or by dozen, 40c each in lots of 100 or more.

Order Berger's Great Speech Now
The speech of Victor L. Berger on U. S. action in Latin America is ready for distribution. All that is necessary is for you to pay for the printing of them, which is \$5.00 per thousand. No profits are made by anyone, but we must pay the Government for the printing. You order them, address them and mail them to individuals everywhere. They come in franked envelopes, so there is no cost for postage. ORDER NOW at the rate of \$5.00 per thousand, from National Office.

All ruling powers will sooner or later be overthrown until that power is vested in the people as a whole and administered not for private ends but for public benefit.

Two Fine Debs Pictures Order Now

We have two fine pictures of Eugene V. Debs that our comrades and many others who were friends of Debs will want. The prices are made unusually low, so that all the friends of Debs may secure one for their homes, their offices, or for the organizations of which you are a member. Socialists, Locals and Branches, Unions and other organizations may secure one now. Don't wait until they are gone.

A reproduction of an original oil painting by Artist M. Baer, in colors, 10x24. Price one dollar.
An enlargement of a Photograph, last picture of Debs, size, 16x24. Price five dollars.
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"Save your money," importunes the bank. But the merchant puts the new paper good money to induce you to spend it.

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NEWS AND VIEWS

America on Trial

The interesting news comes from Europe that the League of Nations is making an inquiry into the action of the United States in Nicaragua, recently and apart from the regular League program.

Such a proposal exists strongly against how deeply world opinion is stirred by the crude and ruthless methods of Coolidge and Kellogg in Central America. That the "conventional" tools on this matter are to be used by the other imperialist powers, they do not care to express in hearing of the most powerful nation and the world's big creditor.

Among the nations that will surely express their opinion about the Nicaragua affair will be several South American nations, and that opinion will not be a pleasant one.

The peaceful reputation of the United States has been severely damaged by such an action. Kellogg has made millions of enemies of America and many American citizens will suffer for their ill-considered policies. A secret League of Nations conference on American imperialism sounds ominously like the beginning of a defensive league against the United States.

Peace Forces Can Control America

Recent events have brought out the fact that there are potential peace forces in this country capable of controlling it.

During the recent session when affairs with Germany were being discussed, a break was brought upon the Senate ratification of the League of Nations. The Robinson resolution settlement of the League of Nations was brought up.

The Federal Council of Churches represents 23 Protestant denominations, 143,000 churches and 22,000,000 church members. It is a powerful body that such a powerful body as this is under liberal and pacifist leadership.

Bituminous Miners Prepare to Battle

(Continued from page 1)

certain states, as well as hurricanes and bad weather, have been blamed on the Jacksonville Agreement by these conspirators who are fighting to destroy unionism and contractual relationship in the mining industry.

The purpose of this conspiracy was to enforce a wage reduction in the union fields. In some sections where wage reductions were enforced the men received less work than when union wages were paid. Subsequent reductions were put into effect but did not give any more steady working time than previously.

Challenges Government Statements

Certain tonnage reports made by an alleged government agent in the Bureau of Mines seek to convey the impression that a majority of present tonnage is from non-union mines. This statement is not true. The figures gathered by the Bureau of Mines are taken from the statements of coal operators—non-union, particularly in the West Virginia and Kentucky areas. The sum total of such figures, however, represents the view point of the non-union operators. The United Mine

Babes

By GEORGE F. HIBNER
(Written especially for the American Appeal)

Out of the silence borne by love and pain:
Each arriver met with suspense such as ails o'er battlefields;
Each arriver holding all possibilities of all the Race;
Each with deep implanted hope and love:
All arriving after ages of improvement for the supporting of life;
All arriving where Nature has spread plentiful fields,
And materials for shelter and food and homes;
All arriving upon an earth where Nature has scattered
Beauty enough, and sunshine enough, and sweet air enough
For these and countless millions more.
Each arriver coming with a hunger for light, for beauty, for freedom:
So come the babes of these days—and of the racing tomorrows.

Seeing these so wrapped in beauty, meeting the sweet air and sunlight;
Seeing the light that is fairer than sunlight flowing from their beautiful bodies;
Seeing the abundance that is easily possible for all;
I too am added to the growing number of millions
Who can never again remain silent
While these babes are crowded and crushed in the ugliness of cities!
Never again silent while these are charged for the use of the earth!
Never again silent while these want and hunger—
Go in ugliness and misery in the midst of plenty!
Never again silent while Property and Profit rule their lives.

The earth and machinery and these babes' hands grown strong
(Can easily produce in abundance—)
PROPERTY AND PROFIT MUST YIELD BEFORE THESE BABES!

AMERICAN COMMUNISM

BY JAMES ONEAL

Author, "The Workers in American History"
Editor, "The New Leader"

A history of the origin and development of the American Communist movement, its numerous organizations formed since 1919, their programs, their relations to the Communist International, the Trade-Union Educational League, their work in the trade unions, their policies and methods.

It is documented with excerpts from Communist and other sources, many of them no longer available to the student of this movement.

The book will prove to be a standard authority on a phase of American labor history which has provoked considerable controversy.

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ership and dares to throw its great weight on the side of peace in the world.

Among other powerful peace elements in America are many women's organizations. Women alone can exercise a most decisive power in averting wars, and the distinct drift in America is toward a rapidly growing women's peace movement. This is the true role of the mother—a peace-maker, a conservator of the race, a savior of the children of men, the great force that finally turns mankind from destruction toward creation. Woman in her true role is the natural enemy of war. She is the great silent sufferer from war. She misses all its false glamor and her portion is the silent suffering—the broken heart.

Then there is the hopeful liberal student movement both religious and secular in which has developed such a surprising demand for the abolition of war and the establishment of a new economic order.

Through all this the Socialist leaves is longing toward a fundamental conception of world-unity and world-peace. Despite America's obdurate individualism, her inbred capitalism, the strength of her plutocratic and imperialist elements, the hatred of war, the desire for peace is so strong in the American people that it can be organized to keep us out of war, but it can be educated to lead us into the warless world of industrial democracy and true cooperation.

Danger Ahead

The European consumption of American goods fell off nearly \$300,000,000 in 1926, says a recent report of the United States Department of Commerce.

This loss was neutralized by an increase of American exports to South America and other "backward" countries. Nevertheless, in spite of this evening up of American trade in other quarters last year so that the United States was still able to get rid of most of its exportable surplus, the European loss is of great significance.

It means that Europe, our great market—the big market that gave

us such unprecedented outlet for our goods after the World War—has begun to get on its feet industrially again and supply itself. It means that the next step will place Europe in the world markets as our increasingly active competitor.

So flimsy and false is the prosperity of the present system that one country's good fortune is another country's ruin. If Europe continues to come back American industry will soon face the worst crisis in its history. There is no safety or security under capitalism.

Socialism Arousing Increasing Interest

Miss Jessie Stephen, British Labour lecturer throughout the country under the auspices of the Socialist Party of the United States, has drawn good crowds everywhere, with one exception, and her meetings have been most successful, according to reports to the American Appeal from the various places she has visited.

The success of Miss Stephen's meetings marks the beginning of a new phase in the development of Socialist propaganda in America since the war, in the opinion of party officials at the National Office. Following the war and the red raid Socialist meetings have been extremely difficult. Miss Stephen's meetings show a distinct interest again in Socialist propaganda in widely separated parts of the country and are a welcome sign that advertised Socialist meetings will draw crowds.

She writes that upon the completion of her present dates she will write a general summary of her trip, which will undoubtedly be of great value to the readers of the American Appeal.

Writing from Dayton, Ohio, Miss Stephen said in a recent letter:

"I am now coming to the end of my trip which has proved successful in every way. The only place which was a frost was Toledo, Gillespie and Clinton were great. Indianapolis was also good, and I am expecting a meeting tonight at Dayton, St. Louis, by the way, kept a hundred cards and are going to solicit subscriptions for the Appeal. I am enclosing \$25 for further subscriptions and seven cards."

perity in American industry could only be secured and held by the payment of higher wages. Liberalism, people everywhere and several captains of industry have since concurred in the program of the United Mine Workers.

In Europe, and especially in Great Britain, wage reductions were agreed to as forerunners of greater stability and continuity of employment. Instead of this stability and continuity of employment in Europe the situation has become worse and is almost tragic.

The mine workers have never been paid enough for their labor. Great still is required in the mining of coal and the hazard alone, which is constantly increasing, merits the payment of wages in excess of the basic scale provided for in the Jacksonville Agreement.

Destructive Policy of Operators

The United Mine Workers of America at its convention held in Indianapolis in January of this year, having every confidence in the constructive ability of its program, instructed the officers, through the proper committees, to negotiate an agreement for a two-year period on the basis of no reduction in wages. Pursuant to this program adopted by the convention the joint conference of the Central Competitive Field met in Miami on February 14th, in an effort to arrive at the consummation of a joint agreement.

At that conference a proposal was made by the operators, which was fathered and sponsored by the Ohio Operators, calling for a so-called continuing competitive scale with West Virginia and Kentucky. In other words they desired that the union miners go down to the level of the non-union operators in West Virginia and Kentucky, and as wages would continue to go down in the non-union fields and conditions would become worse, the wages in the union fields would likewise go down and conditions become more burdensome.

The bituminous operators were unable to point out anything constructive in their proposal; there were none who could muster up sufficient courage to attempt to explain it in any constructive fashion. It does not take a keen mind to arrive at the conclusion that the proposal was positively destructive and would not solve any of the problems of the industry; and furthermore, it would mean any more working time for the miners in the union fields.

The Miners' Proposals

President Lewis, upon behalf of the United Mine Workers Negotiating Committee, submitted a proposal to the conference as a basis for settlement which in every particular would make for greater stability and progress in the industry. The basic provisions of the Mine Workers' proposal provide for the payment of present wage scales and continues the Interstate Joint Conference as an agency ever ready to meet in a joint effort to solve whatever problems may arise from time to time having to do with the progress and advancement of the industry. It further seeks to tackle the freight rate problem in an intelligent manner and compel the readjustment of freight rates on an equitable basis.

Freight Rates Discriminatory

Freight rates within the past several years have been regulated more or less in the interests of the non-union operators. The United Mine Workers believe that the time has arrived when the Interstate Commerce Commission, instead of catering to the interests of the non-union fields, should establish freight rates that are fair, just, and equitable to all fields and to the consuming public. The non-union operators not only seek to gain competitive advantage by reduced wages and cost of government in the non-union states but they also

seek and have secured the support of the Interstate Commerce Commission through the avenue of more favorable freight rates than their competitors in union fields are privileged to have.

Appropo of freight rates, it should not be missed to point out that when a Pennsylvanian was recently suggested for appointment on the Interstate Commerce Commission many of the so-called progressive senators, who are alleged to have a labor view point, joined with the non-union operators of West Virginia and Kentucky in their effort to preclude the possibility of favorable non-union freight rates being interfered with. Some of these senators in the cloak rooms are reported to have made statements that they were opposed to union labor controlling the Interstate Commerce Commission.

It should be noted, however, that none of these senators have evidenced any disapproval of the non-union coal operators attempting to control the Interstate Commerce Commission; at the bottom, it can be clearly demonstrated that the non-union operators and their representatives in the Senate have not only been able to secure the support of these high in Government positions, including the Interstate Commerce Commission, but they have also secured the support of those in the Senate who call themselves "progressives." A real progressive would naturally be against anything that the non-union operators of West Virginia stood for, and if they have secured the support of the Senate, it is the result of the sophistry of the non-union fields and their representatives, in the language of the street they are far from being the progressives they are cracked up to be.

The hoped-for adjustment of the freight rates submitted by the mine workers to the joint conference, and as with all other proposals submitted by the mine workers, we believe that it would help to bring about a more stable industry and a solution of the problems on a basis of fair trade and more likely of favorable results than any heretofore suggested.

Union Will "Carry On"

The United Mine Workers of America will continue to fight for the improvement of wages and conditions of the mine workers in the mining industry. The United Mine Workers refuse to become parties to any arrangement that would bring about the lowering of the present standards of their people. Our organization has ever continued to fight for progress notwithstanding that, while we were holding our own and moving forward, the labor in the port or the hard.

The real battle to stem the tide of reaction in this country was fought by the United Mine Workers of America in the strike of 1922. It was then that we will be required to stand again to hold our present standards and to make them better as time and opportunity presents. We hope that we will not have to resort to industrial warfare to force an agreement, but if compelled to, we will not shrink. We will continue to fight for our people who take up the fight with that courage and self-sacrifice which is characteristic of the union mine workers of this country. Our organization will continue to carry on its fight, and its program, and in its membership and those dependent upon them who have demonstrated their fighting ability in other momentous battles for industrial freedom.

Treacherous Plan to Grab Nicaragua

(Continued from page 1)

into the presidency and "recognized" by this country.

Dennis recently resigned from the diplomatic service, claiming that the State Department was being run by a lot of incompetents who won position through financial and social "pull" rather than by meritorious work.

Incidentally, Dennis permitted it to become known that he had a letter from Secretary Kellogg directing him to do what he could to bring about the election of Diaz as president of Nicaragua.

In an official statement, Kellogg had denied that he had favored the election of Diaz.

The embarrassing story about this letter is that it flatly contradicts statements made by President Coolidge and Secretary Kellogg to Congress and the people of the United States.

When newspaper correspondents approached the State Department for information concerning the letter, they were told by Acting Secretary Grew that he had no knowledge of such a communication.

Another official a little later assured the newspaper men that the letter was "a Mexican forgery" and that it "was a matter of common knowledge that it was an easy matter to forge the signature of a nervous man."

The "nervous man" is, of course, Secretary of State Kellogg, who is sometimes referred to by the ungodly as "nervous Nellie."

The trouble with the forgery is that the letter reached Dennis through the usual diplomatic channels; that is, it was placed in a sealed diplomatic pouch which was dispatched from Washington and which, according to the best information available, was still sealed when it reached Dennis in Nicaragua.

Forgery Charge Far-Fetched

By what legendary the Mexican consul would have forged the letter in that pouch is not explained by the State Department.

No one in Washington whose opinion is worth anything attaches the slightest credence to the forgery story, but the State Department officials believe it will be long before the back home who are not familiar with the methods of "dollar diplomacy."

APPEAL'S FEATURE DEPARTMENT

Harry W. Laidler, Editor

Socialists Explain Their Objections to Communism

Democracy Versus the Dictatorship Article IV

In the former articles on the Socialist criticism of communist tactics, we dealt with the failure of violence as the way out. Socialists also maintain that the genuine democratic method, despite all of its faults, is a superior method to that of dictatorship in the attainment of a new order.

It is often claimed, declares Karl Kautsky, in his dictatorship of the proletariat, that the attempts on the part of the ruling class to nullify by violence the realization of democracy by the rising class "prove the worthlessness of democracy for the proletariat. Should a ruling class, under the suppositions here discussed, resort to force, it would do so precisely because it feared the consequences of democracy. And its violence would be nothing but the subversion of democracy." The thing that is proved, therefore, is not the uselessness of democracy, "but rather the necessity for the proletariat to defend democracy with tooth and nail."

Of course, adds Kautsky, "if the proletariat is told that democracy is a useless ornament, the needful strength for its defense will not be created." However, the mass of people are so attached to their political rights that if the other side endeavored to destroy them, a political overthrow would result. And the higher the worker values democracy, the more may this successful defense be expected.

Democracy an Integral Part of Socialism

Kautsky, in fact, takes the position that democracy is not merely a method of Socialism, but an integral part of Socialism and that Socialism without democracy is an impossibility. The object of the Socialists, he declares, is not primarily to attain any particular form of production so much as it is to abolish "every kind of exploitation and oppression, be it directed against a class, a party, a sex, or a race."

"We seek to achieve this object by supporting the proletarian class struggle, because the proletarian class, free itself without abolishing all causes of exploitation and oppression, and because the industrial proletariat of all the oppressed and exploited classes is the one whose constant growth in strength, carrying on the struggle, its ultimate victory being inevitable. Therefore, today every genuine opponent of exploitation and oppression must take part in the class struggle, from whatever class he may come."

"If in this struggle we place the Socialist way of production as the goal, it is because in the technical and economic conditions which prevail today socialist production appears to be the sole means of attaining our object. Should we continue to say that we are wrong in so doing, and that somehow the emancipation of the proletariat and of mankind could be achieved solely on the basis of private property, or could be easily realized in the manner indicated by the Frenchmen, we would throw Socialism overboard, without in the least giving up our object, and even in the interests of this object. Socialism and democracy are therefore not distinguished by the one being the means and the other the end. Both are means to the same end. The distinction between them must be sought elsewhere. Socialism as a means to the emancipation of the proletariat, without democracy, is unthinkable. We understand by modern socialism not merely social organization of production, but democratic organization of society as well."

Furthermore, "only under the influence of democracy does the proletariat attain that maturity which it needs to be able to bring about Socialism and democracy are therefore the two means for testing its maturity."

"A defense of democracy by Socialists carries with it a criticism of the theory of 'proletarian dictatorship,' opposing the dictatorship, and maintaining, in opposition to Lenin, that Marx never advocated the dictatorship in the same sense as have the Communists. He regarded it as a passing phase and not as an institution of government of more or less permanence."

Hillquit on Dictatorship

The attitude of Marx aside, Socialists have expressed a number of objections to the concept of dictatorship. In the first place, maintains Hillquit, the advocacy of dictatorship is a most unstrategic move for a party struggling for power. "Whatever may be thought of the operation and effects of a democratic form of government in a class state," he declares, "the concrete democratic institutions, the liberty of the press, speech and meeting, the right of organization and the franchise, are practically indispensable to the conduct of a large-scale class struggle in the industrial and political field. To the extent in which these institutions are curtailed by capitalist government, the Socialist propaganda is hampered. Nothing therefore is more reactionary in practice than the alleged super-revolutionary attitude

of indifference or contempt for the 'bourgeois-democratic' institutions as weapons in the fight for Socialism. But would it not be crediting the bourgeoisie with a greater degree of generosity or stupidity than it possesses, to expect that it will accede to the Socialist demands for freedom of the press and association, if such demands are coupled with the cheerful assurance that when the 'times change' and the working-class gains political power, it will use it to 'crush once and for all' these same liberties of the bourgeoisie?"

To paraphrase Buharin's illustration, "would it be quite rational to address the capitalist governments with a proposition like this: 'Messrs. Capitalists, accord us full liberty of press, speech, meeting, association, voting, etc., so that we may freely conduct our struggle for your overthrow, and when we have succeeded in suppressing active counter-revolutionary plots aiming at its violent overthrow in the same way that a bourgeois government will always claim and exercise the right of suppressing active revolutionary plots for the overthrow of its rule.'"

The Socialist demand upon the bourgeois state for the maintenance of democratic institutions will be effective and consistent only if it proceeds from the theory that a Socialist state will also tolerate political opposition to all forms of normal propaganda and peaceful activity. The Socialist government will, of course, always maintain the right to suppress active counter-revolutionary plots aiming at its violent overthrow in the same way that a bourgeois government will always claim and exercise the right of suppressing active revolutionary plots for the overthrow of its rule."

Dictatorship and Bureaucracy

The dictatorship itself has several dangers attached to it. In the first place, as Bertrand Russell contends, it is likely to result in the creation of a self-perpetuating bureaucracy. "The Bolshevik theory (declares Russell) is that a small minority are to seize power, and are to hold it until Communism is accepted practically universally, which, they admit, may take a long time. But power is sweet,

and few people surrender it voluntarily. It is especially sweet to those who have the habit of it, and the habit becomes ingrained in those who have governed by bayonets, without popular support. It is sheer nonsense to pretend that the rulers of a great empire such as Soviet Russia, when they have become accustomed to power, retain the proletarian psychology, and feel that their class interest is the same as that of the ordinary working man. This is not the case in fact in Russia, now however the truth may be concealed by fine phrases. The government has a class consciousness and a class interest quite distinct from those of the genuine proletarian, who is not to be confounded with the paper proletarian of the Marxian scheme. But I see no reason to expect equality or freedom from such a system."

The dictatorship after the Russian method, declares others, leads to unnecessary and arbitrary persecution of opponents, discourages vigorous minority thinking, encourages the spirit of the mob, promotes corruption, alienates many who could be invaluable workers for the cause and makes the transition to the democratic society difficult.

In speaking particularly regarding the dictatorship in Russia, Kautsky asserts that the working class of peasants in that land makes the advocacy of dictatorship particularly questionable.

"In the long run," he writes, "nothing can be more dangerous to the Russian proletariat than to familiarize it with the idea that dictatorship, the disfranchising of all opponents, the suspension of the suffrage, and of freedom of the press and of organization as regards every antagonistic class, is the form of government which best corresponds to the interests of the working class. What will then become of the town workers if they come into conflict with the enormous mass of the Russian peasants and a dictator who is recognized by them? What will become of the workers when their own dictatorship collapses? When the proletariat represents the majority, democracy will be the machinery for its rule. Where it is in the minority, democracy constitutes its most suitable fighting arm in which to assert itself, win concessions and develop."

—H. W. Laidler.

Ireland Creates A State Monopoly of Electric Power

Dublin, Ireland.—Patrick MacGilligan, minister of industry, submits to the dail the government's proposals for the management of the state electric power supply. The scheme is costing the state about \$20,000,000. Construction will be completed within two years, and the government is now taking early steps to provide for the distribution and sale of the current on commercial lines. It is handing over the management to a board of experts.

It is calculated that 1,000,000 homes will be fitted with electrical equipment in the next two years.

To secure the success of the project the state is asserting a complete monopoly in the supply of electricity. When today's act passes none of the many existing Irish firms producing electricity will be allowed to supply it without a permit from the Shannon board, and if the independent firms do not agree they have the option of being bought out at a price fixed by arbitration or of handing over their business to state management.

The plan, which covers every detail of distribution and trading, is generally approved as a workmanlike measure, though it is recognized as a huge socialistic state monopoly.

Austrian Socialists Face Possible Victory

With election day fixed for April 24 and cheered by the good gains made by the Socialists in the district elections of February 6 in the purely rural communities of Lower Austria, the Social Democratic Party of Austria is waiting the hottest campaign in its history.

Facing a combination of big bankers, industrialists and landowners, who are throwing huge sums into the campaign fund of the Clerical Party, now in control of the Government, the Socialists are joining enthusiastic volunteer work with heavy cash contributions, comparatively speaking, by the rank and file and the party leaders. Huge meetings are being held in all the cities of the country, and also in nearly every rural center of any importance.

Socialist Party of Milwaukee Growing

Milwaukee—"January and February established a still higher membership mark for the Socialist party of Milwaukee county," was the statement of Secretary Edmund T. Melms, in referring to party progress.

"These two months showed a larger total of membership dues stamps sold than the same months of 1926."

"This office has a close tab on the membership growth by the number of dues stamps ordered from the branches and which they require as receipts given the members when paying their monthly dues."

"Last year, that is, 1926, showed the largest membership enjoyed by the party in the city and county since the war."

Tories Plan to Rob Labor of All Political Power

Would Give Hereditary House of Lords Veto on All Legislation

LONDON, England.—Driven to desperation by the early prospect of Labor's election to power in Great Britain and Labor's efforts to establish Socialism, the Tories, not satisfied with their recent measures attempting to prevent trade unions from making levies for political purposes, have gone even farther than this in other recent measures to deprive the workers of political power. One of the measures is the proposal of the Tories to "reform" the house of lords in such a way that even a Labor victory in the lower house and a Labor government cannot stop the Tory game.

The Tories want to give to the house of lords the same powers which parliament now has. The increasing Labor vote is making the Tories desperate.

If the Richards could force this so-called reform on the country, the situation would then be that a Labor majority and a Labor government would be faced with the immovable opposition of 250 lords representing nobody but their own private interests.

"If anything ever justified revolutionary propaganda, that proposal would justify it," Ramsay MacDonald asserted. "I believe in parliamentary action, but if the Tory party does this it will deprive us of every constitutional action we should take."

The Daily Herald calls the government's attention to MacDonald's words and tells Prime Minister Baldwin that he is driving the country toward a revolution.

Boy Given Death for Bank Robbery

Enid, Okla.—Rather than reveal the names of his confederates, Dave Brown, 19, today at Cherokee accepted a sentence of death for bank robbery.

This was the first time that the death penalty has been assessed in Oklahoma for that offense.

No one was killed or injured in the robbery.

Editor Gets Sixty Days for Blasphemy

TORONTO, Ont.—Ernest V. Sterry, editor, found guilty last week of blasphemous libel against the deity, was sentenced to sixty days in jail. Judge Coatsworth, in pronouncing sentence, recommended that Sterry be deported after serving the term.

The part of Sterry's article on which the charge was based read as follows:

"The God of the Bible is depicted as one who walked in the Garden of Eden, talked with a woman, cursed a snake, sewed skins together for clothes, preferred the savory smell of roast cutlets to the odor of boiled cabbage, who sat in a burning bush or popped out from behind the rocks."

Why Disarmament Has Become Imperative

Editor's Note

In recent issues of the American Appeal, Norman Thomas has dealt with the growing militarism in America; William Floyd with arbitration of international disputes as the way out and Arthur Ponsonby with the value of individual commitment against all international warfare.

In this issue John Nevin Sayre forcefully presents the case for disarmament. He presents an appalling picture of the actual increase in the amount spent for the army and navy in this country and the deadliness of modern weapons of warfare and shows why America is in a position to fight for disarmament.

Mr. Sayre is a minister of the Episcopal Church, Secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation and vice-chairman of the Committee on Militarism and Education. All during the war he fought for peace and since the war, been one of the most active and effective peace advocates in this country.

—H. W. L.

By John Nevin Sayre

As the invention of automobiles and skyscrapers has produced an entirely new traffic problem in our cities, so science applied to the arts of war has produced in our generation a new problem of armament and it is one of the most immediately pressing problems which confronts our world. Within the span of my single life, and I am only a year of two over forty, the United States has increased the expenditure for its navy from a little less than \$1 million dollars in 1886 to over \$17 million in 1936. And President Coolidge recently stated that in the last six years this country has appropriated about four thousand

million dollars for the army and navy and that the appropriation for the single year of 1937 is \$30,000,000. Eliminating all non military items, such as retired lists and expenditures for the Panama Canal, the President finds that \$27,400,000 is provided for purely military purposes. If now you divide that by the 365 days of the year you will see that we are spending more than one and a half million dollars every day just to keep the instruments of death sharp and shining and ready.

The "Radio" Battleship

The scientific deadliness of these instruments has increased in our lifetime commensurately with their cost. Those of us who can remember back to the Spanish-American War will recollect the battleship Oregon which went around Cape Horn; it was one of the three biggest battleships in our Navy then, but today we are building submarines longer than the Oregon. The battleship Iowa commanded by "Fighting Bob" Evans in the battle of Santiago, has lately been experimentally fitted with radio control, so that by radio her engines can be stopped or started, her rudder steered, her speed controlled, her fires shut down or turned on. Without a single hand on board she can be operated from land or from another ship ten miles away. Steered into the water by radio, she is a floating mine. One of the latest additions to our Navy is the airplane carrier "Saratoga," the largest vessel of its kind in the world, a ship which cost \$15,000,000, which can carry forty combat aeroplanes, and thirty-two bombing planes and which is driven through the water with enough electric horse power to light the whole city of Boston.

Chemical Warfare

If we think, further, of the new possibilities of chemical warfare, of General Goring's warning that "the sanction the use of gas in any form would be to open the way for the use of the most deadly gases and the possible poisoning of whole populations of noncombatant men, women and children," and if we consider the industrial preparedness plans of our War Department, with Secretary Davis' assurance, for example on one item, that in a major emergency our "requirements in small arms, 30 calibre cartridges, if placed end to end, would make four girdles around the earth at the equator"—if we can visualize at all the wholesale human slaughter that such arming means, then we must see the vital importance, as Lord Robert Cecil put it, of a "great and instructed public opinion in favor of disarmament—and not merely in favor but burning in favor."

The Armament Race to Death

Expenditure for armament is defended on the ground that it is like insurance, by which the nation pays an annual tax to get security. But that comparison is very misleading because in insurance a fund of wealth is cooperatively conserved but in armament, wealth is competitively squandered. Furthermore a nation can have no hope of security through armament unless its armament is preponderant to, and stronger than, the armament of other nations which may attack it; and since every nation sees this, it has come about that you cannot have armament without at the same time having the nations compete in armament. Let us get the armament race, it is a race toward death at the end, and the whole way along it produces international

suspicion, ill feeling and fear. The result is not more security, but less, for every one concerned. Lord Grey, writing of what happened in Europe in the twenty-five years preceding the war, has said:

"Armaments were intended to produce a sense of security in each nation—that was the justification put forward in defense of them. What they really did was to produce fear in everybody, fear causes suspicion and hatred, it is hardly too much to say that between nations it stimulates all that is bad and depresses all that is good."

Outlaw War

The central problem in disarmament is to transfer people's faith in armament to faith in machinery for peace. Today the nations of the world are spending 650 times as much for armament as they are for the League of Nations and World Court. We ought to reverse that procedure and make every dollar put into machinery of war with \$650 invested in agencies for peace. Science which has made possible the modern destructiveness of war also makes possible the intercommunication of knowledge and life, and insight into human behavior on which we can build secure instruments of peace. Besides the World Court, League of Nations, Locarno and other arbitration treaties, there are a multitude of all sorts of international congresses and cooperatives, and ties between churches and labor and business and scientific groups which ought to be brought into play. Public opinion in the nations which now build armaments needs to be swung over to a program for outlawing war, making the institution of war illegal.

putting the law on the side of peace, and by international agreement limiting not only the construction of battle ships and use of poison gas but prohibiting all major armament and all resort to the barbarity and butchery of war.

This shift from war to peace may come, in part, by demonstration. When Bulgaria a year or so ago resisted Greek aggression not by force of arms but by appeal to a peace agency, the League of Nations, it was an object lesson to the whole world that peace machinery can work. So also the public opinion recently manifested in this country in favor of arbitration with Mexico is a sign that the American people are turning to instruments of peace. But if we want this to be so permanently we must prove our faith by putting more of our national income into peace and spending less for war.

A National Department of Peace

I referred above to the President's Budget recommendation that we spend \$74,000,000 for purely military purposes in 1937. Suppose we took off \$100,000,000 and spent it for peace machinery which would be the opposite of much present war machinery, what could \$100,000,000 do? Mr. Kirby Page has figured that it could annually support the following: A National Department of Peace comparable to the Department of War, with a Secretary of Peace and an adequate staff; ten regional offices in the United States, each with ten regional secretaries; forty foreign offices, each with five foreign secretaries; an editor-in-chief of peace publications and an adequate staff; the free circulation of a million copies of a monthly peace magazine; the free circulation of a million copies of

peace booklets annually; the distribution of a huge quantity of peace posters; the production of twenty peace moving picture films each year; the free distribution of fifty selected books on international problems to 20,000 libraries; the support of 200 American professors abroad, and 200 foreign professors in this country; the maintenance of 1,000 professors of international relations in American colleges and 5,000 such professors in our high schools; the maintenance of 100 summer camps and the payment of the camp expenses of 40,000 young men and women each year, the promotion of an annual peace day, the conducting of twenty World Friendship Cruises annually, the erection of peace monuments, and the support of numerous projects.

All this we could do for less than one fifth of what we will this year put into men and instruments of war. We could do nine tenths of it for the cost of just two airplane carriers and their equipment.

U. S. Should Lead

The United States is in a key position to help with world disarmament. We hold these trump cards. First, in comparison with other Powers we are isolated from attack and can therefore be most free from fear, most able to give a strong disarmament lead. North, South, East and West there is no great army near which can threaten to overrun us. Should Britain's navy attack us, as Congressmen Burton has pointed out, the Dominion of Canada which could be seized as a counter move even though our navy never came into action at all. Japan is several thousand miles from our coasts and besides today we are spending thirty

times as much for armament as she. With regard to the danger of attack by air, the Board appointed by President Coolidge to inquire into this subject, and headed by Dwight Morison, reported that with the present limited radius of airplanes the United States stands in no danger of air attack. Thus by reason of geographical isolation we among the great nations may feel safety in scaling armaments down.

Second: We hold a trump card because we are economically so nearly self sufficient and so powerful. Wars nowadays are won by a process of attrition. The nation with more power, money power, economic resources, and scientific technology wins. Who will wish to challenge the United States on these counts? The basic resources are potential armament. Europe cannot afford a contest with us here. The Bulletin of the National City Bank of New York said last April: "In order to utter ruin the nations of Europe must not only avoid war for at least a generation, but they must somehow reduce their expenditures upon armaments and war equipment in order to cope with their economic problems. There is no other fully equal to the spending vast sums in preparation for war with each other at the risk of common bankruptcy and ruin."

Third: The powers of Europe, and the United States, are all greatly desired disarmament, not even France and Italy are willing to listen if in urging it, because we propose some cancellation of debts? Disarmament by international agreement appeals to sensibilities. Let the United States slacken its persistent effort to secure

Alarming Increase In Landless Farmers, U. S. Report Declares

An alarming increase in tenancy in the area between Canada and the Gulf of Mexico, the Mississippi and the Rocky Mountains, is shown in a report just issued by the United States Department of Agriculture, covering the five years from 1920 to 1925. This report shows that in the following states: Montana, Colorado, Wyoming, North Dakota, South Dakota, Minnesota, Nebraska, Iowa, Kansas, Missouri, Arkansas, Oklahoma, Louisiana and Texas, TENANCY DURING THESE FIVE YEARS INCREASED MORE THAN 5 PER CENT.

The department's preliminary report on changes in the tenure of farm land does not show a striking increase in tenancy for the country as a whole between 1920 and 1925. The big increase in tenancy farming is between the Mississippi and the Rocky mountains and on the Pacific coast. But these decreases are artificial and should not blind one to what is happening to the backbone of the country's food and cotton production.

In 1925 throughout the country 38.6 per cent of all farm operators were tenants. In 1920 the department reported 38.1 per cent of all farmers as tenants. The rate of increase for the five years 1920 to 1925 is almost the same as for the 10-year period 1910 to 1920.

The following table shows the percentage of farms operated by tenants in 1920 and 1925 in 15 states in which tenancy has been rapidly increasing:

Percentage of farms operated by tenants	1925	1920
Arkansas	54.7	51.3
Colorado	30.9	23.0
Idaho	24.4	15.9
Kansas	44.7	41.7
Louisiana	60.1	57.1
Missouri	32.6	28.8
Montana	27.1	24.7
Nebraska	21.9	11.3
North Dakota	46.4	42.9
Oklahoma	58.6	51.0
South Dakota	41.6	34.9
Texas	60.4	53.3
Wyoming	17.9	12.5

The increase in the number of owner-operated farms and the corresponding decline in the proportion of tenants in other sections of the country is shown by the department to be artificial.

Labor Department Man Pro-Fascist

WASHINGTON — Raymond F. Crist, commissioner of naturalization in the U. S. Department of Labor, has expressed the view that Italian Fascists are just the sort of material from which to make American citizens.

Crist was asked his opinion of the argument of Dr. Chas. Fama, of the Anti-Fascist League, that men who had sworn implicit obedience to Mussolini, as members of the Fascist organization, after they came to the United States, were not in good faith when they swore allegiance to the United States government.

The naturalization commissioner said he saw no objection to Fascists; indeed, he thought they were just the sort of men needed here.

Canadian House Votes For Old Age Pensions

OTTAWA, Ontario—The Dominion House of Commons has passed the government's old-age pension bill. The measure is now before the Senate, where it was defeated a year ago.

If the bill becomes law the government will pay \$20 a month at the age of 70 years provided the provincial government of the province in which the pensioner lives pays 50 per cent of this amount.

Public Ownership Proves Superiority in Acid Test

By Carl D. Thompson
(Secretary, Public Ownership League of America)

J. D. Ross, Fellow of the American Institute of Electrical Engineers and head of the great publicly owned light and power system of Seattle, Wash., has recently been in Chicago. While here he made an exhaustive and thorough-going study of Samuel Insull's great Commonwealth Edison, privately owned, light and power system and in a number of public utilities owned power systems of Seattle.

The comparison was made on the basis of the official reports of the Commonwealth Edison Co., filed with the Illinois commerce commission, for Mr. Insull, and the official reports of the Seattle Municipal Light and Power system for Mr. Ross.

Here we have an acid test of the relative efficiency, economy, cost, rates charged and service rendered by a great private power company as compared with a municipal plant in a much smaller community—our fifth as large—and the public plant has beaten the private plant at every point.

As follows: The cost of 38 kilowatt hours of electricity in Chicago, where Samuel Insull rules supreme, is \$1.03. In Seattle the same amount costs \$2.00. And this, remember, in spite of the tremendous advantage that Insull has in having an absolute monopoly in Chicago whereas the Seattle municipal plant does not enjoy a monopoly but has the sharpest kind of competition with a powerful private company can give; and further, in spite of the fact that Mr. Insull's city is more than five times the size of Seattle.

But that is not all: Taking the average selling price for all the current power, out, Mr. Ross finds that it is 2.12 cents per kilowatt in Chicago and only 1.824 cents in Seattle. So there is no escape from the fact that with all the advantages that private ownership has in Chicago it cannot compare with the achievement of municipal ownership in Seattle when it comes to low cost service to the consumer. The ordinary consumer pays Insull and his private monopoly 40 per cent more for current than such consumers pay for such service under municipal ownership in Seattle; and the average for the whole body of consumers, great manufacturing and utility concerns, is nearly 20 per cent higher in Chicago than in Seattle.

Nor is this all: The municipal plant seems to have beaten the private in the matter of efficiency and economy—in spite of all the advantages being on the side of the private plant. It costs the Insull company .563 cents (a little over a half cent) to manufacture a kilowatt hour of current—at the switchboard, and without counting taxes. The cost for the same in the Seattle city plant is only .509 cents (not quite one-third of a cent).

And again: The Insull company,

like all the private power companies, never tires of telling us about how very much more completely it serves a community by having any municipal plant possibly could. But what are the facts? Just this: In Chicago, Mr. Insull claims, the "average output per customer per year is 3,310 k. w. h." In Seattle, one-fifth the size, with the field divided with a competing company, and industries only a fraction of the size of those in Chicago, the k. w. h. output per customer per year is nevertheless 3,274—about equal to Mr. Insull's Chicago company; and in Tacoma, one of Seattle's cooperating cities, it is actually greater, viz: 3,357, than Chicago. Thus at every point and in every respect, save one, the municipal plant in Seattle makes a better, and a much better, showing than the private Insull company of Chicago.

Mr. Ross made a great number of comparisons as to the cost of electric service in Seattle under public ownership and in other cities under private ownership. The following were especially illuminating: In Seattle \$18 k. w. h. costs \$8.94 per month. The same amount of current costs under private ownership as follows: Spokane, Wash., \$16.96; Everett, Wash., \$17.55; Bellingham, Wash., \$17.80; Chicago, \$18.24; Wenatchee, Wash., \$21.58; Kennewick, Wash., \$25.25; Aberdeen, Wash., \$32.40.

Super Power Trust Already Organized

(Continued from Page 1)

owned the Electric Bond & Share Co., first created the Electric Bond & Share Securities Corporation. The Securities Corporation then took over the shares of the Electric Bond & Share Co., which previously had belonged to the General Electric. Then the General Electric distributed the shares of Securities Corporation to the stockholders of the General Electric as a sort of stock dividend.

Says the Commission: "Profits Are Enormous" "Certain holding company interests show rates of earnings on common stock equities, after paying interest on borrowings and dividends on preferred stocks, ranging from 19 to 55 per cent in 1924, and from 21 to 40 per cent in 1925.

"Unquestionably the opportunity of making such high rates of profit is the primary economic motive actuating promoters of the present extensive holding-company movement in the electric power industry. The annual gross revenue of eight groups of allied interests is \$626,037,247. The total annual income of it

Speculators Got Millions Lost by Cotton Farmers

CHICAGO—When the panic-stricken American farmers, cramped and pinched for money to pay off their borrowings, turned and dumped their cotton on the market and the price crashed, but a group of Great Britain's shrewdest business men, waiting for the crash and prepared for it, quietly tossed their money into the market and bought on an unprecedented scale.

They started their purchases quietly, they kept them covered as far as possible, and were out of the market—so far as great operations were concerned—before the excitement had subsided, and the result was that not many save those familiar with proceedings at the New Orleans and New York exchanges knew of the size of the operations.

Estimates \$50,000,000 Profit. Their profits to date, solely on purchases, will amount to not less than \$50,000,000, according to an estimate made by Aaron Sapro, general counsel for most of the principal cooperative marketing associations of the country, and it is not unlikely, Mr. Sapro thinks, that ultimately they will be vastly in excess of that great fortune.

The fact that the American cotton growers are at the mercy of the country banks financing them on production credits, it is said, drove the domestic producers into the market and placed them at the mercy of all looking for bargains, including the foreign manufacturers.

Swede Cooperative Beats Flour Trust

NEW YORK—Flour mills operated by the Swedish Cooperatives won 3 shifts a day and have beaten the capitalist flour trust into second place. Sweden's trade, Rudolph Molin told the Cooperative League when visiting in New York. Molin has been making connections to market cooperative products, particularly art glassware, in this country.

Corn mills, a shoe factory, a hog slaughtering house and two insurance companies are subsidiaries run by the Swedish cooperative wholesale. Another subsidiary makes fine glassware and pottery. The margarine works and techno-chemical factory at Malmo are most interesting subsidiaries. Vitamins are segregated at the techno-chemical plant for use in the cooperative margarine.

A school for cooperative workers is held every year and a correspondence school continues from Stockholm headquarters throughout the year. Annually a delegation of board members from cooperative unions of other European countries.

Crime is abroad in the land. But one of the biggest crimes of the age is the spectacle of a workman begging for a job.

The power industry is set by the commission at \$1,177,000,000. Therefore, these eight small groups control almost half the total power income directly. Their indirect power probably suffices to control most of the rest.

As the American Appeal has repeatedly pointed out, this dangerous monopoly can be dealt with effectively by the successful government ownership and operation of the Muscle Shoals and Boulder Canyon projects, and such public ownership and operation would be the entering wedge of Socialism in America. A tremendous battle is coming soon on this issue and the Appeal is preparing to take a leading part in it.

\$2,000,000,000 Bread Trust Thrives, Although Dissolved

The two billion dollar Bread Trust, one of the most enormous and dangerous monopolies in America, which between the Federal Trade Commission and the Department of Justice was declared dissolved and is believed to be no longer in existence, is nevertheless still a thriving monopoly doing business at the old stand.

These facts were given out recently by the Chicago Federation of Labor broadcasting station by Walter E. Holloway, general organizer of the People's Legislative Service. Among other things, Mr. Holloway said:

"You might not think that the government had any part to do with the growth of the Bread Trust. That's incorrect. The Bread Trust has grown up quite directly because the government has failed to enforce the anti-trust laws. William B. Ward had gradually gained control of a larger and larger portion of the baking industry. In 1924 he had control of the Ward Baking Corporation with a capital of \$150,000,000. Also in 1924 he organized the Continental Baking Corporation with a capital of \$600,000,000. In 1925 he secured control of the General Baking Corporation with a capital of \$1,000,000,000. Into these three mammoth corporations Ward has absorbed no less than 173 previously independent baking concerns from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The Ward octopus had become nationwide. Emboldened by the negligence of the Federal government in curbing his activities, Ward conceived the outrageous plan of throwing these three enormous corporations into one colossal combine. In January 1926 he did this by organizing the Ward Food Products Corporation with a capital of \$2,000,000,000—twice as big as the Steel Trust! The Bread Trust has become the biggest trust on earth. And I can think of no nearer profitter than a profiteer in the people's bread."

"Now, what is the Government doing meanwhile? Practically nothing. As long ago as 1924 the late Senator Robert M. La Follette, founder of the People's Legislative Service, had secured a Senate Resolution directing that the Federal Trade Commission should investigate the growing Bread Trust. But the Federal Trade Commission postponed action. The Bread Trust had its lobby at Washington. But the People's Legislative Service took up the fight for the people. Ward was 100 per cent anti-union. He would absorb or drive out of business the independent bakers throughout the country. He would finally dominate the bread and allied industries and be in a position to levy tribute upon all organized labor and the people generally. How else could he pay dividends on two billions of stock when the combined actual value of his properties were no more than one hundred and fifty millions? To pay dividends on watered stock you must mix your profits with blood."

"In the autumn of 1926 the People's Legislative Service, by arrangement with the Bakery Workers Union, took up the fight actively against the Bread Trust. The American Federation of Labor gave its active and powerful support. The fight was on. By diat of publicity, by pressure in the Senate where Robert M. La Follette Jr. stood fighting in his father's place, the Federal Trade Commission was finally urged into action. In February 1928, at 45 Broadway, New York, the Continental Baking Corporation was brought to account. George Barber, Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Continental, was put upon the stand under oath. Questions put to him soon exposed to public view the filthy nature of the gigantic structure in which the average output of capacity per undertaking, taking into account both the size of blast furnaces and the number owned by each business,

more than doubled between 1882 and 1913, and nearly trebled between 1882 and 1924.

\$90; Continental from \$144 to \$255; and General from \$48 to \$50—all told the combined market prices of all classes of stocks of the three corporations fell from \$445,000,000 to \$205,000,000, or less than half. A quarter of a billion dollars in paper profits, which Ward had expected to turn into gold, had turned into ashes. Ward was personally hard hit. He was frightened. As a result of this exposure Ward rushed to Washington in the persons of his attorneys and entered into an agreement with the Department of Justice in what is known as a Consent Decree whereby the Ward Food Products Corporation—the \$2,000,000,000 combine—was officially dissolved. That was a signal victory for the people. But it was only round one in the great fight.

"Unfortunately, and we think illegally, this Consent Decree was introduced into the Department of Justice with the understanding given to Ward that the case of the Federal Trade Commission against the Continental Baking Corporation should

be dropped. At any rate the case was dropped. The Combine was broken but Ward was left free to continue his absorption of independent companies. And he is going on with this program. The independent companies still complain of his unfair competition. The Bakery Workers Union still finds him a bitterly antagonistic force. This is a very serious matter. What was to be done? Mr. La Follette Jr. had to go on. The People's Legislative Service immediately got busy. Senator Robert M. La Follette Jr. exposed the facts of the case against the Continental Baking Corporation. This investigation is now in progress and we believe that it will not only result in the opening of this case but extend to a complete investigation of the Bread Trust.

Finds Trusts Rapidly Ousting Competition

(The basic Socialist contention that trusts and combines in industrial, agricultural and big scale production are eliminating competition and paving the way for Socialism is proved to the hilt in the following report appearing in the London Daily Herald, British Socialist and Labor newspaper.)

Business is steadily moving towards the elimination of competition. That is the first point that emerges from the further report issued yesterday by the Balfour Committee on Industry in which the committee was appointed by the Labor Government in 1921.

The elimination of competition takes several forms. We are given this formidable list, provided by the Board of Trade, of cases where agreements exist for regulating prices: Most of the non-ferrous metal industries. Almost all branches of the iron and steel industry, subsequent to the production of pig-iron and ingot steel—including light castings, tubes, wire ropes and bedsteads.

Electric cables and lamps, and some of the more specialized sections of engineering, including cycles. Finishing branches of the woollen and worsted industry. Wool combing and carpet manufacture.

China, clay, pottery, glass-ware, match-making. It is added that shipping conferences regulate shipping freights, and railways rates are governed by law.

Turning to international combines, the committee says that "modern trade has become so international that it is not surprising that a considerable number of international cartels and agreements have been organized."

"There are also," it is observed, "a number of powerful consolidations of 'trusts,' the operations of which are international, relating to such industries as minerals oil, tobacco, sewing cotton and matches."

While these large-scale agreements are developing, there is also the tendency to increase the size of the units of business.

One form is the expansion of single business. An example of this is afforded by the manufacture of pig-iron, in which the average output capacity per undertaking, taking into account both the size of blast furnaces and the number owned by each business,

Then, again, the expansion of single business has been supplemented by the combination or consolidation of hitherto independent enterprises. The committee observes that "consolidations are not formed with the sole object of increasing efficiency and reducing costs, but with the aim of restricting or reducing competition."

The committee adds that in some of the public attention which consolidations attract, they cover but a small proportion of industry as a whole.

The facts already quoted, however, show how widespread are the forms of union.

Co-operative Success

Combination of another sort dealt with when the committee proceeds to consider the Co-operative movement, which, we are told, "has approached the problem of large-scale production and distribution from an entirely different angle from that of the trust or cartel, and has arrived at a solution of the question of the relations between producer and consumer which, within certain limits, has been remarkably successful."

Pointing to the magnitude of the movement, the committee says that in 1924 there were in Great Britain 1,368 retail distributive societies with 4,642,000 members.

New Law to Fix Wages On 55 Railway Lines CHICAGO — The Watson-Paul law, for the settlement of labor controversies by arbitration was placed soon on the most extensive scale since its passage by the last Congress. Representatives of 55 railroad companies and of officials of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks and the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen have agreed to settling wage disputes under the new law.

Negotiations before the arbitration board will be opened to the men introducing their own demand for a \$1 per day increase. Roads involved have a total wage of more than 130,000, it was

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